

The **AMERICAN
TEACHER**

The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers

MARCH, 1919

Organizing the Environs

**The Union Movement Among
Teachers**

Around the Circuit

From the Locals

**Democracy in Education
Education for Democracy**



The League of Nations

AND I want to utter this solemn warning, not in the way of a threat; the forces of the world do not threaten, they operate. The great tides of the world do not give notice that they are going to rise and run; they rise in their majesty and overwhelming might, and those who stand in the way are overwhelmed. Now the heart of the world is awake, and the heart of the world must be satisfied.

Do not let yourselves suppose for a moment that the uneasiness in the populations of Europe is due entirely to economic causes or economic motives; something very much deeper underlies it all than that. They see that their Governments have never been able to defend them against intrigue or aggression, and that there is no force of foresight or of prudence in any modern Cabinet to stop war. And therefore they say, "There must be some fundamental cause for this," and the fundamental cause they are beginning to perceive to be that nations have stood singly or in little jealous groups against each other, fostering prejudice, increasing the danger of war rather than concerting measures to prevent it; and that if there is right in the world, if there is justice in the world, there is no rea-

son why nations should be divided in the support of justice.

They are, therefore, saying, if you really believe that there is a right, if you really believe that wars ought to be stopped, stop thinking about the rival interests of nations and think about men and women and children throughout the world. Nations are not made to afford distinction to their rulers by way of success in the manoeuvres of politics; nations are

meant, if they are meant for anything, to make the men and women and children in them secure and happy and prosperous, and no nation has the right to set up its special interests against the interests and benefits of mankind, least of all this great nation which we love. It was set up for the benefit of mankind; it was set up to il-

lustrate the highest ideals and to achieve the highest aspirations of men who wanted to be free; and the world—the world of to-day—believes that and counts on us, and would be thrown back into the blackness of despair if we deserted it.

From the Speech of PRESIDENT WILSON, delivered in New York, March 4, 1919.

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The American Teacher

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MARCH, 1919

One Dollar a Year

Accessory to the Fact

TWO of the locals of the American Federation of Teachers, the Grade Teachers Union, of Washington, and the Peoria (Ill.) Men Teachers Federation, issue from time to time small publications giving information to their members, as well as to the interested portion of the public. As such, they are accessory to the fact that a national organ cannot do everything. They are twice welcome, partly because they are doing useful service in their respective communities, partly because **THE AMERICAN TEACHER** is kept informed of what the locals are thinking. All we ask now is that each of the locals will from time to time send us letters written especially for our department, "From the Locals."

Our Organizers

THE employment of organizers for a new union is undertaken frequently, or even usually, on the "credit system." No union in the beginning has enough money to employ an organizer, or enough members to get money from. So it takes a leaf from Business, and employs a business agent to get business. To those who work a life time to get enough money to buy a house, and die without having the house, this manner of "plunging" is very reckless. But old union men everywhere say it is the only way to begin.

In September, 1918, The American Federation of Teachers was able to arrange for its President, Mr Chas B Stillman, to give his entire time to organizing. The results have been the organization of many locals thruout the country, and the beginning of

that process of cohesion which will make the national a real force in American life. Moreover, the existence of an organizer in the field has lead to the establishment of closer relations between the union movement among teachers and trade unionism itself, for one of the most productive meetings of the year for us was the Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Several new locals of teachers may be traced to that convention, and the interests of education and the well-being of the children of the workers have been more firmly joined.

In January Mr Stillman addressed the Reconstruction Conference of National Popular Government League at Washington. His speech appeared in the February number. Here again he represented the joint interest of the teachers and labor. No other teachers organization has received such recognition. Later the Towner bill was brought before Congress largely as the result of the joint efforts of The American Federation of Labor, The American Federation of Teachers, and the National Education Association. This could not have been done by the officers of an association that is represented by individuals who are busy in their schools hundreds of miles apart. In this number of **THE AMERICAN TEACHER** Mr Stillman refers to his participation in the work of a joint committee of labor and the manufacturing interests appointed by Governor Lowden of Illinois. Altho this public work takes time, it is our opinion that it is decidedly worth while, much as it may cut into the plan for continuous organizing. It will inevitably lead to further organizing.

While the President has been working at high pressure traveling about the country, much of the time on the "one-night stand"

system, our National Organizer, Mr L V Lampson, has been very active in the region of Washington, and had sent out literature over a wide area, besides giving out articles thru newspaper syndicates. But all this had to be done while he was held at Washington by the stern economic necessity of looking after his job under the Washington school system. However, the pressure of a desire to get more busy lead to an effort of the part of Mr Lampson to obtain a leave of absence for a half-year. Some of the educational authorities favored granting the leave of absence, but the more powerful ones did not. So Mr Lampson after consultation with the Executive Council of the A F of T settled the matter by resigning from the school system.

And here we see again the point continually being made by labor organizers. If you want to pile up membership you must have organizers. And we have added to that bit of financial wisdom, the contribution that the organizers themselves must have *nerve*. However, it is still up to the present membership itself to see that Mr Lampson's courage is abundantly appreciated by us all.

Organizing the Environs

IN this number of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* we publish the list of the locals of The American Federation of Teachers with their Presidents and Secretaries. There are two purposes in this. One is to indicate the rapidity and the extent of our development, and the other is to furnish to locals the information thru which they may begin the important activity of "closing up" the vacant spaces between, and extending to the environs of the area. For example, there are four locals in the State of California, two in Sacramento, one in Vallejo, and one in Visalia. These four locals should close in on San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, San Jose, and Fresno, and extend thence to Chico, and Red Bluff on the North, and to Los Angeles and San Diego on the South. Even before that job is done, an organizing committee of

all the locals should by all means establish connections with progressive teachers in Portland and Seattle. Seattle above all should be ashamed of itself for not having a local now, for Seattle teachers have in their own town one of the most enlightened and progressive central labor bodies the country affords. And what is more, Seattle teachers have received material aid from Seattle labor in their struggles for the square deal. It may do Seattle teachers good to know that we all know it.

One of these organizing committees is already at work in New York State, and has had work to do in the neighboring state of New Jersey. It may be of some encouragement to organizing committees to know that inquiries about the movement are coming to the officers of the national and to *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* from practically every state in the Union and from many parts of some states, and from many persons in some cities. An organizing committee may obtain the names of inquiring teachers in any region upon request from President Stillman, or National Organizer Lampson, whose addresses are always in *THE AMERICAN TEACHER*. A useful function of such committees would be the publication of news about the national union movement among teachers in local newspapers thruout the region to be covered. In this way and thru direct personal appeals to teachers in other localities the organization "bug" may be fattened and multiplied.

Education or Chewing Gum?

THE quotation printed in this number from *The Bankers Magazine* is brutally frank, but in large measure shockingly true. Of course, we are the members of the profession which will be discredited if it turns out to be correct that many red-blooded boys and girls prefer a "good, fresh stick of chewing gum" to a school book. But we have reached the point

where we don't care if it is. If true, it would only go to prove the assertion that many of us are beginning to make that the books, as well as the teachers, and the methods that are carried out thru the teachers, and the administration that runs the schools, all need some of the sweetness of life possessed by the best brands of chewing gum. So let that part go as stated.

But when the Editor of *The Bankers Magazine* says, "We pay the day laborer more than the teacher because he is worth more—because he produces a service of greater value to society—just as the corporation manager is paid more than the preacher," we feel that our profession has received a ruffianly slap in the face. However, it may be that we shall live to see the day when we shall be willing to grant the refreshing nature of that statement also. It helps at once the effort to explain the fact which teachers often strongly resent, the fact that an uneducated laborer does receive greater economic appreciation than teachers do. But no one has been rude enough before to say that we get less because we are worth less.

The greatest surprise of this editorial in the bankers' organ comes in the not unfriendly suggestion that "when the teacher breaks from the cast-iron system of education which has been devised by persons with no conception of the meaning of true education, he may deserve better pay than he now receives."

True enough, but the teachers cannot lift themselves altogether by the method of pulling on bootstraps. The bankers, of all persons, ought to realize that to get teachers who will break anything stronger than celluloid, it is necessary to offer an economic inducement. However, we expect no cheerful economic inducement. We have learned something from the "laborers" which the *Bankers Magazine* does not mention, and does not approve, the idea of *unionization*, which after all is the real basis of the bankers' respect.

The Undivided Common Good

IN the February number of THE AMERICAN TEACHER we published as part of the "Symposium on Teachers' Unions" the article by Professor David Snedden unfavorable to the idea of teachers organizing into unions affiliated with labor unions. In this number we publish another opposition article, by Professor Kilpatrick. In this manner we are presenting to the minds of our readers what we believe to be the strongest objections that have yet been raised against the movement to which this periodical is devoted. In other words, our members now have the opportunity to realize the basis of intelligent opposition, stripped of prejudice and insincerity. For that we are under obligations to these two able and straightforward leaders in education.

The validity of much that Professor Kilpatrick says in this number, depends on whether it is correct to interpret the labor union movement as a movement against the "undivided common good." The rest depends on whether we agree that public education in relation "to democracy and the successful working of the democratic society" may receive complete and satisfactory adjustment under the present idealism and administrative practise in education.

The history of the labor union movement is of course full of specialized efforts to obtain privileges and protection for the class. From time to time there have occurred even menacing symptoms of what Professor Kilpatrick refers to as an "unjust social order" in strikes, lockouts, destruction of property, and violence. It is evident that there would have been no division into classes, and none of the bitterness of social conflict, if those who work had been disposed to accept without complaint the wages and the treatment they were receiving from their employers. But there seems to be no reason for supposing that the employing groups would have followed any course other than the one

they did of dismissing, of punishing with imprisonment, and of blacklisting, those who begin attempts to organize the working class. It took a long time for public opinion to agree that it was fair for labor to make demands and to enforce them thru the strike. Even now it is not universally acknowledged that it is fair. And Professor Kilpatrick maintains a position that is quite commonly held that unionism is a movement for the benefit of a class, and not for the "undivided common good."

Altho it is undeniably true that even employers themselves often prefer to deal with union workers because of their greater responsibility and their greater skill, many professional folk are indifferent to the well-known fact that unionism has enabled the workers to crawl out from under the burden of unendurable conditions with long hours of work, and to begin the long upward climb toward social justice in industry. To the extent that the well-being of the enormous numbers in the working class promotes the well-being of society in general, unionism should be considered not only fair but even democratic in its social bearings.

It is quite possible that the point of view held by professional folk is determined unconsciously by the seemingly more social interests of the employing class, on whose favors and approval the rest of us live. What we like and have always felt is right seems of course to approach more nearly the democratic ideal of the undivided common good. But in the attainment of the ideal of the undivided common good it is not only democratic, it even appears inevitable, that the conflict of new ideas with old, the struggle of new forces with reactionary ones, shall occur. Who shall say at what point in the development of the conflict the new forces are still in the wrong and still undemocratic?

In public education, also, there is a struggle for the determination of the "undivided common good." And the lines are drawn so sharply that we of the new force in ed-

ucation do not hesitate to denominate the old ideals and practise in education as not only reactionary, but *autocratic*, never democratic in the least. With this characterization it is more than likely that Professor Kilpatrick would readily agree. His objection most probably would be that the new force is allied with physical force, or industrial force, and for that reason is not in harmony with an orderly development of social justice in education by the method of "persuasion." Our methods however, are the methods of persuasion.

The new aggressive force in education, as in industry, is compelled to meet the criticism of the groups, one that wants things to remain as they are, the other that wants to avoid the necessity of taking up the untried. On account of the tremendous power of this reactionary and neutral resistance there is no chance whatever for a new movement that does not honestly and sincerely strive for clear ideals of the undivided common good. The union movement among teachers is such a movement. The fact that in the labor movement we find the only social group that is openly, continuously and aggressively interested in the establishment of radically improved conditions in the schools, and in the democratic administration of education, is an important reason for teachers being in the union movement.

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The Union Movement Among Teachers

WILMER T STONE

DeWitt Clinton High School, New York

AT first blush the idea of teachers forming a labor union seem incongruous in the extreme. What has become of the dignity of the oft praised and idealized profession? The teachers themselves are wondering whether the profession has been forgotten in the feverish rush of modern life, or whether they are supposed to subsist on a rather faded and moth-eaten dignity. At any rate, the cost of living is recognized as a more realistic thing than vague words of praise and esteem, so that we find the union movement simply explained, in origin at least, by stationary salaries and mounting expenses.

Even under the spur of necessity, teachers do not take kindly to unionism. There is a notorious hiatus between the intellectual life of our colleges and normal schools and the great busy world of today. Moreover, the academic atmosphere tends to produce a patronizing attitude on the part of its inhabitants towards labor, more especially organized labor, while concentration on specialties such as mathematics, Latin, grammar, or classical literature, do not help to make the student feel a keen sympathetic interest in labor and its problems. The result is that the average teacher has a somewhat disdainful feeling toward labor and a profound ignorance of its struggles, hopes and achievements.

Nevertheless, many teachers are beginning to realize that labor is their truest friend, and that they themselves are a part of the great world of labor, faced by the same problems as their brothers and sisters in factories, offices, and shops. For fifteen years in Chicago the teachers have worked hand in hand with organized labor for better educational conditions. It was but natural that eventually they should form unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. At present the American Federation of Teachers, an integral part of the A F of L, consists of fifty-

three locals in various cities, including Chicago, New York, Washington, St. Paul, and many smaller municipalities. The president of the A F of T, Mr Charles B Stillman, is now freed from his school duties in order to enable him to spread the union idea in new cities, and is devoting his entire time to organization work with ever growing success.

Altho the desire to increase salaries in accordance with the increased cost of living is the primary explanation of the formation of teachers' unions, yet the possibilities of the movement far transcend the salary question. The reduction of the size of classes, and the general improvement of teaching conditions follow as a logical next step. The securing of tenure of office, representation of teachers on school boards, and a voice in shaping the curriculum are other demands of progressive teachers. The union movement is in itself an education to the educators, making always for a clear conception of the need of industrial democracy, and the development of a sense of social responsibility in place of the numbing, blind, unthinking obedience which makes teaching such a dreary and uninspired occupation in most American schools today.

It is easy to see how teachers benefit by association with organized labor, when the latter uses its political power to aid them in their struggle for better conditions. And the help that teachers can give labor is equally apparent, when one considers how anxious the average worker is that his children shall be taught by men and women who take a keen interest in their work and who have a liberal social outlook, not by weary drudges who are in a blind alley apart from the main currents of modern life. For the union worker realizes that the newspapers, one great moulding influence in the formation of public opinion, are not friendly to his interests and do not adequately express his point of view.

He then turns to the schools, the second and even more important moulder of opinion, to see if he cannot so influence them as to give the coming generation of workers a better appreciation of their own true interests. Not only does union labor count on the more or less unconscious, gradual, and cumulative effect of a body of teachers who share his ideals upon the impressionable minds of school children, but much more directly does he seek the aid of teachers. The educational planks in the platform of the A F of L are invariably drawn up by representatives of the American Federation of Teachers, and the trade unionists constantly look to the unionized teachers for suggestions which will make the

curriculum better suited to the needs of the children of the workers.

Looking still further afield, the workers expect aid from the teachers in interpreting and spreading broadcast the new democratic ideals which are coming to the fore all over the world in the economic and political spheres. How can a teacher, who has no understanding of labor's struggles and hopes, or sympathy with them, be an interpreter of the great vision of a reconstructed world which organized labor everywhere is dreaming of today. Labor knows that it can find no more powerful ally than the progressive teacher in making this vision of today become the reality of the next generation.

The Functions of a Teachers' Union

CHARLES B STILLMAN

President, The American Federation of Teachers

THE opinions of an individual concerning the functions of teachers' unions are of little importance compared with the conceptions of the various locals, which it is hoped this series will bring out. But to me our national motto has never become trite. I believe that the primary function is to develop the spirit of democracy in our schools, and to provide the machinery for its practical application. And even after the machinery has been supplied, possibly thru a teachers' council which is not a misnomer, there is need of a union to prevent possibilities of abuse thru indifference.

But democracy means more than machinery, important as that is. Teachers' councils will enable the schools to profit by the initiative and experience of the class room teachers, but will not provide any contact between the teachers and the community life for which they are supposed to prepare their pupils. Teachers' unions, thru their affiliations, do provide that intimate contact with economic and civic life. The most disastrous short-comings of our public schools are

directly traceable to the ignorance of the vital currents of the times, the aloofness of the teachers from life. Our movement will mean the end of that aloofness, and a long step toward the democratic cooperation of all workers.

A greatly improved economic status is a fundamental necessity of the teaching craft if the schools are to secure and retain men and women of ability. Union committees should gather information on relative increases in cost of living and teachers' salaries in their various localities, on relative compensation in other callings and in teaching, with comparative data on cost of preparation in time and money, and on value to the community of services performed, the last in no invidious spirit. Other committees should be studying school revenues, the equitable enforcement of existing tax laws, and the necessary legislative measures to provide adequate school funds. All available avenues of publicity should be utilized to keep the facts of the situation and the recommended measures before the public.

Affiliation with local and state central

labor bodies not only furnishes the best avenue of publicity, but secures the most effective support. The organized teachers can keep the committees on education of all such central bodies informed on school conditions, and can cooperate with them in outlining and carrying into effect a forward-looking policy for the improvement of the schools. Where superintendents and boards of education are progressive, the organized teachers can bring them needed support; where they are reactionary, their designs on the schools can be thwarted by salutary publicity.

Teachers' unions, by working out the problems of educational reconstruction and securing for their program the support of organized labor, can forestall the efforts of the reactionaries to shape the development of our school system during the next few years of change. And the teachers, if unaffiliated, maintaining their traditional isolation, will find themselves powerless, playing their traditional rôle of victim, in the conflict that is already upon us. Enlistment in the forces of progress in that struggle is the great service the teachers' unions are rendering their profession and their country.

Around the Circuit

CHARLES B STILLMAN

President, The American Federation of Teachers

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

AN encouraging phase of the legislative situation is the establishment of co-operation between the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association. During the Educational Reconstruction program of the National Popular Government League at Washington, Jan 10, Mr Hugh Magill, Legislative Representative of the N E A, asked if we could not get together on a federal program. We welcomed a conference, the more readily because Mr Magill while in the Illinois Senate had made a record of friendly cooperation with labor and of vigorous support for progressive educational measures. During the days immediately following numerous conferences were held involving at one time or another Secretary Morrison and Legislative Agent Sterling of the A F of L, Mr Magill, Secretary Crabtree, and Mr Searson, of the N E A, and Mr. Lampson and myself of the A F of T, with very satisfactory results. We found the N E A men friendly to our movement, and always willing to meet us half way in suggested modifications of the Smith Bill. They agreed to insert in the language of the bill specific mention of teachers' salaries, and made various minor changes at the sugges-

tion of Mr Lampson or myself. In consultation with A F of L officials we had previously determined to submit a separate bill which labor could get behind, but we found the A F of L officials entirely willing to adopt the changed plan. They said in effect, "You organized teachers are the ones with special interests and special knowledge in that field, and if you want us to support the Smith Bill, modified according to your suggestions, we will take our coats off." The N E A people agreed that it would be wise to have the bill introduced in the House under the auspices of organized labor. You have recently seen press reports announcing that it had been introduced by Horace M Towner, of Iowa.

The A F of L have asked all affiliated bodies in the United States to urge its passage upon their Congressmen. Without the relief provided in that bill it is impossible for the public schools of the country to meet the demands of the reconstruction period, or even approximately to maintain pre-war standards.

NEW LOCALS

Your President has found the last month, with the exception of the conferences in Washington, chiefly a period of one night stands.

It would be difficult for a dozen workers to meet all the requests for the explanation of our movement which are constantly coming in from all sections, and one can scarcely touch the high spots. We are very fortunate in having Mr Lampson, our National Organizer, give all of his time to the A F of T commencing March 1st, making two workers on full time. In February Mr Lampson organized the Lynchburg Teachers' Union No 48, and the Hill City Teachers' Union No 49, both in Lynchburg, Va., and March 1st he organized the teachers of Prince George County, Md, making the fifty-second charter issued.

From the time of the last report in the February AMERICAN TEACHER, announcing the forty-second charter, to the present (March 3rd), we have also granted charters to the St Paul Federation of Men Teachers No. 43, the Sacramento Elementary Public School Teachers Chapter No 44, the Mahoney City Federation of Teachers No 45 (a one hundred per cent organization at the outset), the Peoria Federation of Women High School Teachers No 46, the Peoria Grade Teachers' Association No 47, and Nos 50 and 51 to the teachers of Visalia, Cal., and Murphysboro, Ill.

While many of these charters were issued following a personal presentation of our purposes and methods, many were the result of the organizing activities of our locals. Developments in many other communities are exceedingly interesting and encouraging, and will provide material for later reports. We all hope that each of our locals will soon be sending in their reports to THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

THE ILLINOIS JOINT COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Governor Lowden has initiated a plan in Illinois which should soon be followed in every state in the union. He asked the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the Illinois Manufacturers' Association each to suggest fifteen representatives whom he could appoint as a joint committee to work out solutions of reconstruction problems in

industry. When appointed one of the fifteen labor representatives, I could not avoid contrasting the changed status of the teachers, the opportunities for functioning as citizens opened up by affiliation with labor, with the traditional attitude toward teachers, with the contemptuous, patronizing tolerance which, at the best, has greeted any attempts on the part of teachers to exert their due influence in the practical life of the community.

The initial conferences in the Governor's office and in his home, and the later organizing session in Chicago give promise of far-reaching results. The plan meets one of the most pressing needs of this period, that of increased opportunity for meeting face to face, threshing things out across the table, and exhausting every possibility of cooperation for the common good, as the only effective answer to the dogma of inevitable class war.

Our Purlblind Autocrats.

The list of teachers dismissed or suspended from the New York public schools in consequence of difference of opinion from the majority has received a notable addition in the name of Benjamin Glassberg. Mr. Glassberg was furnished a textbook on current history which he was told to teach "with enthusiasm." This is apparently the book which makes such elaborate apology for the long continued neutrality of the United States that the late Theodore Roosevelt requested that the record of his own contribution to the making of this particular part of history be deleted. Had Mr. Roosevelt been a teacher under the New York School Board he would apparently have failed in enthusiasm at this point and been subject to the tender mercies of Dr. Tildsley. It was on the pages devoted to the Russian Revolution that Mr. Glassberg's enthusiasm seems to have flagged. At any rate it was on the day when he confessed certain doubts as to the extent to which Lenin and Trotsky were German agents and regretted that testimony in regard to the situation in Russia was suppressed, that twelve of his pupils (including the only ten Gentiles in the class) were summoned to the principal's office to bear witness against him. Thereupon Mr. Glassberg was suspended without pay. Eight weeks have passed and he is still under suspension, with no charges filed against him. At last accounts the twelve witnesses were being subjected to continued examination by Principal Raynor, and recently Dr. Tildsley spent a day at the school collecting evidence. We cannot think so ill of the School Board as to imagine that if Mr. Glassberg is ever tried he will be found guilty of anything unbecoming a teacher. On his acquittal perhaps he will be offered the terms presented to his predecessor in martyrdom, Mr. Perlstein. Mr. Perlstein was suspended without pay in January, 1918, presumably for lack of sympathy with the war. After serving the U. S. Government for a year in uniform he is offered reinstatement without pay for the period of suspension.—From *The Dial* of March 8, 1919.

A Symposium on Teachers' Unions

II

The purpose of this symposium on teachers' unions is to bring out positive and intelligent convictions on the question of whether there is educational or social justification for the alliance of teachers with the labor union movement. The article presented in this number offers objections to teachers joining unions affiliated with labor. The reply will be found in the editorial entitled, "The Undivided Common Good." Further articles for or against the union movement among teachers are invited.

Against

II

PROFESSOR WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK
Teachers College, Columbia University

SHOULD our public school teacher by formal organization become an inherent part of the trade union movement? The problem is knotty. The answer, as it seems to me, is no. Let us at the outset admit—at least for the sake of argument, for myself I accept it as true—that the labor union has proved a useful and probably necessary piece of social machinery to secure rights that otherwise would have been effectually denied or at any rate long postponed. The question then becomes essentially an inquiry as to whether public school teachers are on the same footing as those others who have justly improved or might so improve their conditions of work.

This inquiry hangs on the relationship of education, especially public education, to democracy and to the successful working of the democratic society. For the democratic state to abide it would seem necessary that there should in the future prevail a higher regard for the undivided common good. Such a regard must take more—not less—effective precedence over private and separatist interests than has heretofore prevailed. The duty of building this dominating regard for an inclusive public good seems to me to fall in a unique sense and degree upon the public school. I grant that success here can only come hand in hand with a correlative increase of justice in the economic and industrial fields; but I cannot see how our teachers can foster such a controlling regard for common undivided good if their acts—which outweigh mere words—ally them with a part and not

with the whole of corporate social life. Such an arraying of group against group is certainly one of the most regrettable and dangerous aspects of an unjust social order. Our laboring people have apparently been forced into such a divisive attitude; but teachers have a peculiar obligation in the matter and should, as it seems to me, be the last to leave the post of duty. They must represent the whole and not a part.

The conception of democracy yields yet another opposing consideration, in which education is if possible more inherently involved. Persuasion—the fair presentation of fact and argument—should in a peculiar sense constitute the educator's way of fighting wrongs. Democracy is more than majority rule. It stands as truly for social control by reason. It will operate as far removed as it feasibly can from the social control of threat and force, and as close as it possibly can to the social control of fair and just persuasion. This democratic social control, I need not point out, is exactly education itself at work in a situation of social stress. Democracy and education are herein inherently identified. It would seem then a peculiar and essential disloyalty both to democracy and to education for teachers unnecessarily to forsake the use of reason and argument and rely instead on threat and force.

Let me hasten to admit that I have in the foregoing assumed—perhaps unjustifiably—what many will count the very points at issue: I have supposed that teachers have just grievances and that the proposed remedy is essentially a program of coercion and force. I have further assumed that persuasion is still feasible and force and threat even yet unnecessary. Whether or not I

am justified in these assumptions is not for me to say. But what must be the effect upon the young of our land, who need perhaps as never before to understand the ideals of democracy, if they see their teachers themselves refuse to use the education and reason which they profess to inculcate?

From these considerations I should regret to see our teachers adopt the proposed labor union plan of righting their wrongs. The ways of democracy are often very slow, and in situations of crisis may perhaps yield somewhat to the emergency; but for teachers, the natural guardians of the citadel, to forsake the cause—that we cannot approve.

Why Labor Needs the Teachers

MRS LYDIA J TROWBRIDGE

*President, The Federation of Women High School Teachers,
Local No. 3, Chicago, Ill.*

WHO are the members of trade unions? Most of them are fathers, mothers, sisters or brothers of school children. Many of them are making sacrifices to keep these children in school. All of them appreciate the value of education. But often they are disappointed with what the school does for the child. Mary or Johnny is not really "educated." There must be something wrong somewhere. But what? How can they find out?

Thru the teachers.

Herein lies the greatest service teachers' unions can render labor. Individual teachers may help individual parents. But individuals are powerless to change systems, be they business systems or educational systems. It is only by organizing, and formulating principles for which they are ready to fight that teachers, like other workers, can make their influence felt effectively.

Today forty-nine teachers' unions are working on the problem of educational reconstruction. The results will be a national platform, not for those teachers only, but for the American Federation of Labor. Indeed, for the past three years teachers have been molding the educational policies of the Federation of Labor.

The next step is to give publicity to these principles—to impress on every trade union man and woman the importance of every plank in the platform. To do this requires

a bureau of propaganda, with speakers to present the subject to every union. The idea of using schools for forums must be pushed, forums in which teachers and parents can discuss the special problems of the community.

Whether he recognizes it or not, a child's best friends are his parents and his teachers. No one can try to train a girl or a boy for five months without becoming interested in the child's success. And an unconscious bond of sympathy with the parents grows out of the pride or the disappointment resulting from the experiment—pride in Mary's quick intelligence, in Maude's quiet perseverance, or disappointment at John's indifference and hatred of books.

No one knows better than teachers how antiquated are some of the methods still in use. Perhaps John is justified in hating school, when the red blood coursing thru his arteries is calling him to action, and it is misery to sit still. But his parents want him to be a lawyer, or a bookkeeper. So many parents force their children into certain careers, regardless of the child's aptitude; so many children drift into certain courses because their friends are there.

The union and the forum furnish a medium thru which to learn of new methods in education, new means to guide parents and children in choosing a career. Parents must be aroused to a sense of their own responsi-

bility for the kind of education their children receive; and teachers must arouse them. Then must follow cooperation for better education.

Some of us talk much about democratizing education, which I take it means, among other things, that in secondary schools and universities the students should have a voice in the policies of the institution; that there should be a school council to which they send representatives—a teacher-student body. Indeed, it might be wise to introduce into our state universities and normal schools the three new weapons of democracy: Initiative, referendum, and recall, the last presupposing the right to elect the administrative and teaching body.

Now what better place to set these ideas brewing than in labor unions? Again this enforces the need of systematic educational propaganda.

Many of these reforms can have no immediate realization. But one benefit that labor is already deriving from union teachers is the presentation in the schools of industrial problems from labor's point of view. Thru

debates and current news, opportunity is given to present the value of standardizing working conditions by organization and collective bargaining; the influence of child labor upon the wage market, as well as upon the child; the injustice of women's underbidding men.

Here, then, are five reasons why labor needs the teachers: for direct information on school conditions, for help in educational reconstruction, for cooperation in giving publicity to its demands, to promote a more democratic control of all schools supported by public monies, and to educate the young in the principles of trade unionism.

The greatest contribution, however, that teachers can make to trade unionism is idealism. A prominent worker once said, "The Knights of Labor had one thing that trade unionism too often lacks—idealism: the Knights had vision." Idealism has often-times raised teachers to statesmen and diplomats. Idealism has freed slaves, established republics, and conceived a World League. For idealism is the lode-star of democracy.

The Boston Librarians' Union

CHESTER A S FAZAKAS

Library Employees Union, Boston, Mass., Number 16113, A F of L

THE primary object of the formation of our Union was, and is, the improvement of all the working conditions of employment including the "wage question." It must not be assumed that we were actuated by mercenary purposes or motives by any means. On the contrary a "higher wage system" was but a means to an end. Libraries, even more so than schools, are unique for the smallness of the monetary recompense received by the assistants—whether these latter be collegians or not. In view of this fact, a number of assistants in the Boston Library arrived at the conclusion that the smallness of the pay was due primarily to ourselves, insofar as we had remained

lethargic for years—accepting a poor wage as a matter of course. Just as long as employers of my line of endeavor are content to accept the minimum wage, just so long will they receive it.

Many of us felt that need of constant study in order to bring upon our institution and its traditions the credit which is its just due. Especially is this true when one realizes the kaleidoscopic changes of the age in which we live. Now, the requirements of a library assistant are of such latitude that it is quite obvious that one's powers of efficiency can be increased only by close study. True, a great deal of library work is assimilative, but the major portion is acquired only by

hard and earnest study. In order to study, it is necessary to be in possession of greater material aid—in the form of money, which, as libraries now stand, is not forthcoming. It would be rather difficult to trace the cause of this small wage in libraries—it is a condition of long standing.

As was said by Miss Squires in the October (1918) *AMERICAN TEACHER*, library life has a great tendency to stifle whatever initiative one may possess. Being conscious of this, as most of us are, does it not follow that it is incumbent upon each one of us to act in unison and raise ourselves out of the common "rut" into which we, of Librarydom, are so prone to fall? It does not and will not solve the problem to have the suggestion made to one that perhaps a change of employment would net a larger increase in one's purse. This, indeed, is a very weak remark to make to a large number of men and women who have devoted a life-time to the service of the reading public. It ought never to be admitted that libraries are relics of the ancient days in so far as the wage questioned is concerned.

Realizing these conditions and having a considerable degree of pride in our chosen field, a number of us, *after sincere and deliberate consideration and honest thought*, concluded that the solution to our question appeared in The American Federation of Labor.

In May, 1918, just one year after a few energetic assistants in the New York Library had blazed the trail, we sought, and obtained, admission into this great American organization. No one can justly deny that the step is the one step that holds the greatest promise of placing libraries on the proper basis—financially, especially. Of course, like all pioneers thruout history, there is bound to be caustic, and sometimes offensive, criticism leveled at us, but since we feel that we have done the proper thing, we surely will not give heed to criticism that is only antagonistic. Conservatism is one of the most prominent characteristics of a certain type of library assistant. In fact, it seems to be characteristic of most of them.

As an illustration of this conservatism, I shall tell our experience in organizing. Notices were sent to *all* persons employed thruout our system that an *open* meeting was to be held to discuss the feasibility of unionization. Only forty-six out of a possible two hundred came to this meeting. It will always remain a mystery to the writer why those who remained without our ranks failed to grasp the full significance of this upward movement. Surely, by now they must be convinced that their condition, financially, could hardly be worse. What hope has a college man or woman under the library system of today? What hope has a man or woman who grew up in the service? In neither case has there been any hope for better wages. If the A F of L were immoral in its aims or methods, one could readily understand why librarians should hesitate to join. But the history of unionism proves the exact opposite. Its most salient feature is that it does improve the conditions of its members. Being a moral good it consequently has a moral force behind it; hence its great success and growth. It seems strange that there exists such a feeling of antagonism among so many library people against the thought of a labor union. Their stand, like the Tories of England, seems to be that anything progressive must be condemned because it is breaking all precedents. One of this type actually wrote in one of Boston's papers, that those who had organized and joined the Union were "unprofessional" and "undignified." If he were true in his charges, and of course he is not, then every physician and dentist—to mention only a few of the profession—must be horribly "unprofessional," for they have a happy faculty of keeping their prices most uniform. If this latter feature does not suggest a union by standing together then there is no such thing as a union. How little do our opponents understand the meaning of the word "labor"!

We have been accused of "disloyalty" and similar terms of opprobrium to our best traditions, but we try to keep in mind the narrow mental perspective of many devoting

their lives to library work, and to make allowance for a natural (?) horror of such a radical step as New York and Boston took. At present we, of Boston, number about forty per cent of the total working force eligible to the Union, but, no doubt when our efforts of self-amelioration bear fruit, there will be an influx of no mean proportion, for truly, no cultured body of people would enjoy benefits at the expense of others' efforts.

In all our transactions it is aimed to have perfect accord and harmony exist between the Trustees, the Librarian, and the Union. All members of our staff are eligible to our Union except, of course, chiefs of all departments *directly* responsible to the Librarian. The reason for this clause in our constitution is easily explained. Experience has taught that there is a greater display of action and a larger exchange of constructive ideas among the assistants when the chiefs are not present. This appears rather Unamerican, but it is a fact.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing remarks that any apology for the Union is offered. The A F of L needs no apology—it stands on its own merits. All that this article aims to do is to appeal to all who are not already unionized. To any one who can see ahead it must be evident that the day is not far distant when all who labor for a stipu-

lated salary, or "wage," even "professionals" will be unionized. No less an authority than President Wilson has urged it in no mistakable terms.

Before closing this article the writer wishes to draw the attention of the readers to the following significant bit of news:

A friend of mine—a teacher in one of Boston's High Schools—said last November (1918) that within a year from date ALL the school-teachers thruout the entire Boston system would be members of the A F of L. Personally the writer believes this to be true, but let us see whose mind will be the first to introduce the subject to the teachers. The time only waits for the proper person to get into touch with the powerful "Teachers' Club" of Boston.

As it is hoped that in time the library assistants thruout the whole country will be a National Body, why cannot the same be said of the teachers thruout the country? It only needs a man or woman with sufficient force of character (and conviction) to accomplish this task. The effort will be hard, but the goal is worthy of any hardship!

If any employer of library should by chance see this little exposition of our aims, and wishes to form a union in the library in which he is employed, the writer would be only too pleased to hear from him.

Labor and Progress

III

MARGARET SNODGRASS HARDING
Chicago, Ill.

LABOR AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

AN international organization of labor under the League of Nations is slowly being worked out by the labor commission of the Peace Conference under the presidency of Mr Gompers. Article XX of the draft of the covenant of the League reads:

"The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane

conditions of labor for men, women, and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the league a permanent bureau of labor."

An official communique of February 18 stated that the commission had agreed that "at the annual labor conference the government of each state shall be represented by

two delegates having one vote each, while there will be one delegate from each state representing employers and having one vote, and one delegate representing work people, also having one vote."

It was decided at the meeting of the commission on February 7 that women should be admitted as delegates to the permanent international conference.

WOMEN AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Delegates of four of the five great powers represented in the peace conference have expressed their approval of the proposal that women be added to all those commissions of the conference which are dealing with matters affecting women and children. The commission on labor manifestly comes within this definition.

Simultaneously there comes the announcement that four representatives of the National Women's Trade Union League have secured passports and will present the claims of women workers to the peace conference. They are Agnus Nestor, president of the Chicago League; Rose Schneiderman, president of the New York League; Melinda Scott, national vice-president, and Mary Dreier, sister of Mrs. Raymond Robins, the national president; Mrs Robins is heading a committee appointed by the Y W C A to investigate the industrial and economic standards of the women of England, France, Switzerland, and Italy.

"An immediate voice in the peace conference and a permanent representation on the labor bureau" are demanded for women-workers by the representatives of the Trade Union League.

THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR CONFERENCES AT BERNE

The delegation of the American Federation of Labor to the inter-allied trades union conference at Paris did not attend either of the Berne congresses. Reports from Berne as to the attendance, temper, and outcome of the meetings are confused and conflicting. A cable from Chester M Wright states that the forty-three socialists of the French Chamber of Deputies led by Compere Morel have for-

mally repudiated the Berne socialist congress because it refused to declare itself on the war culpability of the German social democracy. On the other hand Pierre Renaudel, leader of the moderate wing of the French socialist party, is reported by Paul Scott Mowrer as saying that results were on the whole satisfactory.

The socialist congress by a large majority voted for the Branting resolution against bolshevism. This resolution pointed out that the true development of socialism lies not along destructive, but constructive and truly democratic lines. Thus it should increase rather than decrease production. The program adopted by the labor congress was also adopted by the socialist congress, and both appointed delegations to present it to the peace conference at Paris.

A deplorable aftermath of the Berne congress is the assassination of Kurt Eisner, premier of Bavaria, a German minority socialist delegate. His speeches at Berne in which he exposed the responsibility of the German military party for the war, revealed the inhuman treatment of allied prisoners, and declared that he had documentary evidence that the German general staff still maintained secret relations with Lenin and Trotsky apparently goaded the militarists to seek revenge.

Eisner's death is especially unfortunate at this time as it removes the moderating influence of a man of genuinely democratic ideals who had the courage to denounce both the German majority socialists for their support of the old regime and bolshevism for its destructive and undemocratic methods.

Expenditures for Education and Other Things

In the annual report of the Secretary of the Interior appears the following among a number of other inquiries of a like character:

"What should be said of a democracy which expends in a year twice as much for chewing gum as for school books, more for automobiles than for all primary and secondary education, and in which the average teacher's salary is less than of the average day laborer?"

Doubtless Secretary Lane raises these inquiries like a clergyman or other public speaker—so that he himself may furnish the answer. At the risk of an unwelcome intervention a reply may be ventured to these inquiries.

The most obvious reply to the Secretary's question is that freedom is of the very essence of democracy, and that this tendency is but an evidence of the people's desire to throw off the shackles which convention would impose upon them and to discard the restraints and trammels of organized society. But may it not also be an evidence of a natural and healthy mind? What boy or girl unless hopelessly anæmic would prefer a school book—the absurd grammars, the impossible problems in mathematics and all the rest of the dreary hodge-podge of stuff masquerading under the guise of education—to a good, fresh stick of chewing gum?

Why should anybody expect that people should expend more on "primary and secondary education" than they do for automobiles? This so-called "education" merely cramps and warps the mind of the child and imprisons his body in the crowded school room where he contracts tuberculosis and other diseases, while the automobile takes him on the wings of the wind to the country where he may see and learn and enjoy all at the same time amid healthful and inspiring surroundings.

We pay the day laborer more than the teacher because he is worth more—because he produces a

service of greater value to society—just as the corporation manager is paid more than the preacher.

When the teacher breaks from the cast-iron system of "education" which has been devised by persons with no conception of the meaning of true education he may deserve better pay than he now receives.

Secretary Lane should not be dismayed because the people of this country prefer chewing gum to calculus or automobiles to arithmetic. The people of a democracy sometimes have curious ways of revealing themselves, and the wise statesman will study these ways and their meanings with an attentiveness which should lead to a correct interpretation of them.—Editorial in *The Bankers Magazine* of January, 1919.

Praises Teachers' Union.

S. E. Kramer, assistant superintendent of schools, said at a meeting of the Monday Evening Club that the Teachers' Unions have been "one of the most harmonizing influences in the community. They have helped teachers realize that they are a part of the vital throbbing life of the community, and not a class apart working for some hazy sort of ideal."—From *The Washington (D. C.) Star*.

From the Locals of the American Federation of Teachers

From Local 26, Vallejo, California

IN the January issue, we have read with interest an article entitled "The Way to Power," in which the statement is made: "Charter No. 36 has been issued." Further on in the same paragraph occurs the justifiable boast, "From New York to Sacramento, and from St. Paul to the Canal Zone, marks the stretch of our chartered area."

Now we are loyal Californians, and proud of our Capital City; but we wish to suggest that there are two items in which, as A F T people, we are entitled to precedence over our sister chapters in this state.

Vallejo Chapter is No. 26, the first chapter organized in the Golden State, and farther west than Sacramento. The latter honor we hope soon to surrender, as our larger centers on the coast join the on-marching hosts; but honorable mention as the earliest A F T organization in California will always fall to Vallejo, No. 26. Our little city is the site of Mare Island Navy Yard, where the men

from our public schools build justice-defending dreadnaughts, and where the teachers in those schools are banded with them to extend justice until dreadnaughts shall be no longer necessary. For justice is the "Way to Power," and in her name from the Far West we greet you.

CHAIRMAN OF PRESS COM.

From Local No. 16

(*The Grade Teachers' Union, Washington, D. C.*)

OUR union has grown very rapidly, having at present a membership of about four hundred and seventy-five. As you know we have been carrying on a campaign for higher salaries. As a result the minimum salary was raised last year from \$500 to \$750. We have been working this year for a thousand dollar minimum, but so far we have not succeeded in obtaining it. We are hoping great things from the next Congress.

We are also working to have a pension bill passed, but that also has been delayed.

The Union has committees at work on Teachers' Councils, Reconstruction in Education, Organization, etc, and much is being accomplished. One splendid meeting has been held under the auspices of the Committees on Reconstruction from the High School Teachers' Union and our own. Another is to be held in the near future. These meetings are addressed by excellent speakers, men who have accomplished much.

The meetings of our Union have been well attended and are always bright and interesting. There seems to be a spirit of enthusiasm among our teachers that makes the work of the officers well worth while.

Next week I shall send you our News Letter which will give you some idea of what we are doing.

Faternally Yours,
GERTRUDE L LADSON.

From Local No. 5 (The Teachers' Union) New York

THOUGHT CONTROLLERS

WHAT may a teacher think? What may he not think? What may a teacher say,—in class room? What may he not say in class room? What may he say outside of the class room? What may he not say outside of the class room?

For these admittedly momentous questions (more especially in a country which has so unstintingly helped to make the whole world safe for DEMOCRACY) there is no authoritative answer. Our educational controllers of opinion-and-belief-and-expression have not labored under the social or intellectual necessity of communicating to the teaching body the true requirements, positive and negative, concerning the all-important problems of "freedom of thought and expression" in the class room and outside.

What rights has the teacher as teacher? Who's to decide? What rights has the teacher as citizen? Who's to decide?

What rights of freedom of thought and utterance has the teacher in time of peace? In time of war? In time of armistice?

Before applying ourselves to these significant queries, let us briefly recall several rather well-known cases of penalized pedagogs. Six teachers were transferred from De Witt Clinton High (in November, 1917) on the informal charge of "negative loyalty." On the formal charge of "conduct unbecoming a teacher," three teachers were dismissed from the same high school, tho the President of the Board had informed the members that there was no evidence of disloyalty. In neither case were the teachers accused of any *acts* committed in their capacity as teachers. In both cases, it was a question of *attitudes*, inferred from private conversation or expressed therein. Negative loyalty, a mental attitude, a problem in the psychology of graded enthusiasms, *not* any specific act or violation of official order, was at stake. Both groups were penalized for a *state of mind*.

Why was Miss McDowell dismissed? Because of unpatriotism? Then we rightly deduce that our national Government is guilty of treason in its large historic declaration of tolerance toward the Quakers in war time. Does the Government consider the Quakers to be unpatriotic? How then may a subordinate authority (like a city Board of Education) arrogate to itself the right to upset the judgment of the highest authority? For, be it borne in mind, Miss McDowell was charged with the failure to *believe* zestfully those specific things which by historic definition are precluded from the faith and works of Quakers. In fine, she was discharged for having the faith of a Quaker. Once more, we behold a case of *belief* penalized by a Committee that happens to be mentally hostile to the belief in question and opposed to the ruling of the Government.

Why was Mr Phil Perlstein suspended (without pay, of course) last January (1918)? His suspension, without pay and without *charges*, has already outrun the year limit! (But never mind these expensive details). Let us analyze the facts in the case. Were any *acts* of his involved? No, neither in his capacity as teacher or as citizen. Were

any imagined beliefs at stake? We were not informed by the authorities. How did the trouble originate? Teacher gossip—months after Mr Perlstein had been drafted. The baseless rumor spread that he had defied the military. Was he called into conference to present the true account of what had transpired at Camp? He was not. Upon his return to school after his honorable discharge from the Army in January (for sufficient reasons of physical incapacity), he was summarily suspended. This is an instance of high-handed injustice that cries out to public opinion (the true court of appeals) for immediate correction. At this very moment, Phil Perlstein is in uniform at Washington serving the Government and the American people. No *acts* in or outside of class room; not even *beliefs*; no slightest violation of, or opposition to, the school authorities or their mandates; only this—scandalous rumor; and a teacher of a dozen years of efficient and loyal service to the people's public schools is inhumanly penalized and made to suffer unmerited stigma. What an unutterable shame! And the people think that their schools still continue to be the safeguards of sweet liberty and fair play. To add the ultimate touch of ignominy to an already self-condemnatory behavior, the Authorities have made overtures to Mr Perlstein and have promised to exonerate him if only he will consent to reinstatement without back pay! It is impossible to characterize this base procedure in the language of gentlemen.

These cases have become pivotal and reveal a condition in our school system that may well startle into righteous indignation those persons who had all too complacently assumed the reign of equity and democratic good faith as between teachers and their official superiors. Justice, and the sympathy that is its very soul, does not inhabit the shut-off precincts of our public schools. At least, so many capable and worthy teacher-citizens sincerely believe.

The momentous queries at the beginning of this article have not been answered. It

was not our intention to perform within the space of one short analysis so profound a work of enlightenment. Be it presently sufficient that we have posed the crucial question and have offered a background of concrete experience for subsequent development.

No teacher may consider himself either deeply democratic or profoundly American or patriotically worthy who is unwilling to face with candor and calm these momentous problems of freedom of thought and of expression in the class room.

Where shall ultimate control reside? That is the question of questions for teachers who sincerely believe in DEMOCRACY.

As a test illustration of the problem of ultimate control of opinion, take the case of Benjamin Glassberg. What is his offense? No one yet knows what the authorities are going to say it is. Though suspended without pay (in a manner that only timid school teachers still tolerate) almost eight weeks ago, without preliminary admonition or even an informal hearing. Mr. Glassberg has not been permitted to learn the nature of the charges against him. We know only that he repeated certain opinions (so the papers hint) concerning the Russian situation which have been the common property of the educated public for months and which such high class journals as *The Daily*, *The New Republic*, *The Nation* have been feeding to their readers for many months. Once more the problem of opinion, of mere belief!

Are the teachers acquainted with the stirring, behind-the-scenes, episodes in the Glassberg case? Out of a class of 44 pupils, ten of whom are Gentile, 12 were chosen to present "evidence" against their former history teacher. Of the chosen twelve, 10 are Gentile. Isn't the principle of selection a little peculiar? For almost eight weeks now, these youngsters have been under the watchful eye of Principal Raynor and Teacher Campbell, and latterly Dr John L Tildsley, the accusers in the case. They have been trotted in and out of the school, library, in and out of the Principal's office, receiving instructions, persuaded to write in letter form summaries of what

happened in the history room on that day of Russian information; they are being coached for the day of judgment! Mr Glassberg has in his possession the statement of one of the twelve (all of whom had been pledged to secrecy) to the effect that against his will and protestation he had been intimidated into signing a summary accusing the teacher of an utterance which to the boy's knowledge Mr Glassberg had not made at all concerning Russia. These facts are in our keeping. We think it is high time for the interested public to know what is really going on behind the scenes—in the name of Justice. Has the teacher any constitutional or legal or human rights?

Suppose it were found upon investigation (by way of referendum) that an overwhelming majority of the students under his instruction, a majority of his fellow teachers, a majority of the parents of the pupils affected, and an admittedly liberal public opinion, were all in favor of the retention in the school system (that is, in the public employ) of a teacher whom a Committee of the Board of Education (consisting of four citizens) were bent upon dismissing "for cause"! And suppose further that the judgment of the Committee were utterly dependent for its main ingredients upon the information privately furnished to it by a superior officer whom the psychology of position and group-interest naturally linked to it by bonds of closest sympathy. Suppose these plausible things and seriously ask yourself whether with the best intention in the world (and that rarely present), an undesired teacher can hope for an impartial trial and a just verdict?

Would a Superintendent feel himself justly tried if every member of the Trial Committee were a teacher-in-ordinary, an interested party, an inevitably biased juror, primarily concerned with setting an example, punishing a critic, defeating an opposition point-of-view? Is it psychologically possible for "inferiors" (the teachers-in-ordinary) to have Justice meted out to them by their "superiors",—when the questions at issue reveal an ir-

reconcilable difference of fundamental attitudes?

The momentous question arises: In a democracy, where shall ultimate sovereignty reside: With the unreviewable decision of a few, mutually-reinforcing Superior officers (themselves, at least in theory, the *servants* of the people) OR with a Body, representative of the Teachers, the Students, the Parents, the Public (all vitally concerned in the proper administration and intellectual unfoldment of the public school)?

For reasons administrative, psychological and even legal, it is at present impossible for the teacher-in-ordinary to get Justice.

Teachers-in-ordinary, remember that!

(Signed) THE PRESS COMMITTEE OF THE
TEACHERS UNION.

Tell the fellow that wants you to teach for love, that we want the taxpayer to pay taxes for love. Let the taxpayer pay taxes for love, and then teachers can have something so they can afford to love to teach.—(From a recent address by Dr A E Winship.)—Quoted in *The Common Ground* for January, 1919.

Would Hold Teachers

COLUMBUS, Ohio, March 1.—The increasing number of Ohio school teachers who are resigning because of low wages is alarming some state law makers who now propose to make it impossible for the teachers to resign without giving two months' notice. If a teacher quits without giving two months' notice boards of education are enjoined to report such "unauthorized" resignations to the board of examiners, who in turn must send out a monthly blacklist to county superintendents.—From A. F. of L. *Weekly News Letter*.

This is the Official Organ of the American Federation of Teachers ORGANIZED APRIL 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
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2	CHICAGO FEDERATION OF MEN TEACHERS William T McCoy F W Schacht		5508 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 6714 South Union Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
3	CHICAGO FEDERATION OF WOMEN HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS Mrs Lydia Trowbridge Florence Hall		1111 Oak Street, Winnetka, Ill. 63 West Ontario Street, Chicago
4	GARY TEACHERS FEDERATION Anita Bailey Irene B Olin		648 Buchanan Street, Gary, Ind. 600 Jefferson Street Gary, Ind.
5	TEACHERS UNION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK Henry R Linville Sara Golden		36 Terrace Avenue, Jamaica, New York City Public School 34, Manhattan, New York
8	HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS UNION OF WASHINGTON, D C Alice Deal Maude C Gunther		McKinley High School, Washington, D C McKinley High School, Washington, D C
9	ARMSTRONG-DUNBAR HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS UNION, WASHINGTON, D C R N Mattingly Samuel E Compton		Armstrong Manual Training High School Dunbar High School, Washington, D C
10	MANUAL TRAINING TEACHERS ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON, D C ----- Hugh Phillips		16 Bryant, N W, Washington, D C
14	JASONVILLE TEACHERS UNION Mrs Margaret Wasnidge Mary Powell		Jasonville, Ill. Jasonville, Ill.
16	GRADE SCHOOL TEACHERS UNION OF WASHINGTON, D C Clara Stutz Gladys Hellman		1628 Swan Street N W, Washington, D C 2470 Ontario Road, Washington, D C
17	JOHNSTON CITY TEACHERS FEDERATION A Boarden Sylvia L Henson		Johnston City, Ill. Johnston City, Ill.
18	DUNBAR TEACHERS FEDERATION, GARVIN COUNTY, OKLA. J R White Mrs Hattie C Clark		Paul's Valley, Okla. Wynnewood, Okla.
19	OLEAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, OLEAN, N Y Carrie L Colburn Elizabeth Mitchell		802 West Henley Street, Olean, N Y Olean High School, Olean, N Y
20	WESTVILLE TEACHERS FEDERATION, WESTVILLE, ILL. D A Magruder -----		Westville, Ill.
21	NORFOLK TEACHERS UNION, NORFOLK, VA. Rebecca Coleman Frances Gantt		505 Morbray Arch Norfolk, Va. 613 Western Avenue, Norfolk, Va.
22	TEACHERS LEAGUE OF COAL TWP., SHAMOKIN, PA. Thomas Price Alice J Fletcher		Webster Street, Shamokin, Pa. 1310 North Walnut Street, Shamokin, Pa.
23	VALPARAISO TEACHERS FEDERATION, VALPARAISO, IND. Flora Philley Maggie Rex		Valparaiso, Ind. Valparaiso, Ind.
24	NEW YORK VOCATIONAL TEACHERS COUNCIL, NEW YORK CITY Paul Augustine John A Frenzel		2381 Valentine Avenue, New York City 2152 Webster Avenue, Bronx, New York City
25	NORFOLK COLORED TEACHERS UNION, NORFOLK, VA. Anna M Poole Mrs Lilla K Reed		725 Cumberland Street, Norfolk Va. Booker T Washington High School, Norfolk, Va.
26	VALLEJO TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, VALLEJO, CAL. J P Utter Mrs Leta Mitcheltree		Vallejo Intermediate School, Vallejo, Ca. Vallejo, Cal.

- 27 WASHINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS UNION, WASHINGTON, D C

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- 29 CANAL ZONE CHAPTER

Elizabeth Burkheiser Balboa Heights, Canal Zone
- 31 SACRAMENTO HIGH SCHOOL CHAPTER, SACRAMENTO, CAL.
Samuel McLean 1723 M Street, Sacramento, Cal.
Abby Ruth Tracy 1416 Eleventh Street, Sacramento, Cal.
- 32 SHENANDOAH TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, SHENANDOAH, PA.

Elizabeth Bellis 27 North Market Street, Shenandoah, Pa.
- 33 HOWARD UNIVERSITY TEACHERS UNION, WASHINGTON, D C
William V Tunnell Howard University, Washington, D C
Walter Dyson 1913 Eleventh Street, N W, Washington, D C
- 34 PEORIA MEN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, PEORIA, ILL.
Charles C Dickman Peoria High School, Peoria, Ill.
Charles W Chance 207 South Underhill Street, Peoria, Ill.
- 35 MADISON TEACHERS FEDERATION, MADISON, WIS.
Margaret Skinner 134 West Gorham Street, Madison, Wis.
Leta M Wilson 306 West Lake Street, Madison, Wis.
- 36 ASSOCIATE TEACHERS LEAGUE OF NEW ORLEANS, LA.
Augusta Aurianne New Orleans, La.
Ida M Coburn New Orleans, La.
- 37 ALTOONA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, ALTOONA, PA.
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- 38 GRANITE CITY FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, GRANITE CITY, ILL.
Bessie Morgan 2333 D Street, Granite City, Ill.
Ruth H Ingham 2238 D Street, Granite City, Ill.
- 39 BUFFALO VOCATIONAL TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, BUFFALO, N Y
George Heald, Seneca Vocational School, Buffalo, N Y
- 40 LANCASTER ELEMENTARY TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
Floranel Fosler 226 West Fifth Avenue, Lancaster, Ohio
Isabel Harris 210 East Walnut Street, Lancaster, Ohio
- 41 ASSOCIATE TEACHERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
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C V Boyer 908 West Nevada Street, Urbana, Ill.
- 42 STOCKTON TOWNSHIP FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Grace Lam Linton, Ind.
- 43 ST PAUL FEDERATION OF MEN TEACHERS

F A Maitrejean 1302 West Minnehaha, St Paul, Minn.
- 44 SACRAMENTO ELEMENTARY PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS CHAPTER

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- 45 MAHONEY CITY FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
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Amy F Bilcher Mahoney City, Pa.
- 46 PEORIA FEDERATION OF WOMEN HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS
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Mary Kincaid 719 Bradley Avenue, Peoria, Ill.
- 47 PEORIA GRADE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
Lydia Riess 309 Pennsylvania Avenue, Peoria, Ill.
Harriette A Bierman 304 Morgan Street, Peoria, Ill.
- 48 LYNCHBURG TEACHERS UNION

Jessie L Peters 1109 Floyd Street, Lynchburg, Va.



THAT COAT YOU NEVER WEAR

Send it to your nearest Red Cross Chapter

Week of March 24-31, 1919

A shivering well-nigh naked body is aching to huddle its emaciated form within it. Charity begins at home, but it only ends when and where suffering is no more. Almost naked are the destitute refugees of lands just released from the Teuton grasp, according to Col. Harvey D. Gibson, the American Red Cross representative in Europe. Therefore the Red Cross appeals to every man, woman and child to send during the last week of March every available discarded article to the local chapter, from which it will be forwarded to the suffering peoples abroad with all dispatch. More than ten thousand tons of used clothing, shoes and blankets must be sent immediately.

The appeal is timed for the season of the year when people are laying aside their winter garments and clearing out their wardrobes and storerooms. There is not one person in a hundred—perhaps not one person in a thousand—whose eyes fall upon this appeal, whose home will not yield at least one cast-off piece of clothing or bedding. But let everybody send something. If it be clean and whole it is acceptable. We who are well nourished and warm cannot conceive what relief his clothing gives to these, until recently, hounded human beings, so long deprived of even the bare necessities of life, not to mention the ordinary creature comforts.

Don't add to your sins of omission by failing to extend the helping hand. The need is great to a degree that few here at home can possibly realize. Every garment furnished will cover a body which lacks proper clothing. If it is only a pair of baby's socks—send it. It will help to alleviate suffering beyond description.

49 HILL CITY TEACHERS UNION

Mildred P George

1406 Taylor Street, Lynchburg, Va.

50 THE FELLOWSHIP SOCIETY

Miss Sidna Mullineaux

2015 McCord Street, Murphysboro, Ill.

51 VISALIA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Estelle H Dodds

101 North Floral Street, Visalia, Cal.

52 MEMPHIS TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

Miss Maimie E Reiter

1138 Dorothy Place, Memphis, Tenn.

53 PRINCE GEORGE COUNTY TEACHERS UNION

K J Morris

High School, Hyattsville, Md.

University Faculty Votes to Form Union.

URBANA, Illinois.—Instructors of the University of Illinois have formed a union. At a meeting of more than 100 members of the faculty it was unanimously decided to organize under the name of the Associated Teachers of the University of Illinois.

Charles B. Stillman, president of the American Federation of Teachers, addressed the meeting. He said, "It is the object of the organization, according to the plans by which it is organized, to make for better welfare of the instructors and to bring them in touch with their ultimate employers, the people." Mr. Stillman recently returned from a trip through the East, where he had been organizing similar groups.

The organization of the instructors of the University of Illinois is the first of the kind for any of the big universities of the West.—*Christian Science Monitor* of February 21, 1919.

Public Libraries Under Private Control

Members and officers of Library Employees' Union 15590, A. F. of L., of New York, through its publicity committee: Maud Malone, chairman:—is seeking help to induce the Trustees of the New York Public Library to consider the fact that the cost of living has doubled within the past three years while the wages of the Library employees have remained stationary. If the Trustees do not move in this matter, the Federation of Labor will. The moneys used are largely public funds, and the proper procedure is to place all of the Library employees and the expenditures of all moneys under a department responsible directly to the city government. The self-perpetuating Board of Trustees of the 42d street Pickwick Club is a Nineteenth Century joke. This is the Twentieth Century.—*From Legislative Labor News* (Albany, N. Y.) of February 28, 1919.

LABOR NEEDS THE TEACHERS BECAUSE

I. The Workers' children are a large percentage of the population, and it is only just to the children that a large percentage of the teachers should understand and know some of the actual facts as to the homes, the working conditions, the struggles, the aims of the laboring groups, and the history of their efforts to improve conditions.

II. Labor needs the teachers because labor wants schools which are well adapted to the needs of their children, and they recognize in teachers the group that is the expert authority on school methods and school management. Therefore, the workers want teachers with them to help them plan out the work, and also to help them clarify and define what is needed in education.

III. Labor needs the teachers, because theoretically, teachers are trained along broad and generous lines in such subjects as economics, history and civics. Laborers as a class have had a more limited line of training. Therefore they need teachers to give them clearer conceptions and a breadth of vision, which should come from the more studious life and the longer period of preparation that teachers undergo.

IV. Lastly, labor needs teachers to help them carry out their idea of a world solidarity of labor. Into this solidarity teachers may well be the first of the so-called professions to enter, and may lead the way to the complete unionization of all the workers, whether by hand or by brain.

E C RUDDICK,

The Federation of Women High
School Teachers of Chicago.